1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

821 [127] one of the high schools in Athens. T. K. Papaspyropoulos has written of his native settlement near Kalavryta in the Peloponnesos.* A literal translation has been used in order to retain some of the flavor of the village informants.

The sky. Our mother told us that the sky was a big dome which covers the earth like a lid of a cauldron. This dome has for ornaments the sun, the moon, and the stars. High up in this dome God has his throne and sits with Christ, the [772] Virgin, with all the saints and the angels. Near the throne of God is Paradise with the souls of the good people and the saints. Hell is down below in the deepest part of the earth, together with the devils and the sinners. May God protect us!

The sun. The sun is the god of the day. He throws light on the earth and warms the people. The sun brings cereals and all the goods which are upon the earth. Without him we would be dead from cold. The sun does not only warm us but tours the whole world and brings greetings to all those who are away from their home. He also tells us what he sees. We have many songs for the [533] sun, such as those which begin "My sun, three times my sun, and my world-roamer." "The working people watch for him."

[271] Everybody is afraid of the sun. We do not drink water while facing him, neither do we look straight into him because we get blind. In summer time the sun either burns our cereals or our heads. But in winter we beg him to come out and warm us up. We sit there by the sunny spot and he bakes our bodies. We [533] also sing him a song: "Come on out, my sun. Just come out a little bit so that we can take a walk near the threshing floor." Sometimes it rains heavily and the sun is out at the same time. Then we sing to him: "Sun, sun and rain, when the poor get married. Sun, sun and moon, when the donkeys get married. Sun, sun and drizzle, when the female teacher gets married."

The moon. Just as the day has for a king the sun, the night has the moon as its king. The moon is a more agile king than the sun. It takes a walk on the sky shining and chasing the clouds and makes people come out of their homes. [512] With the moon the women spin at night; the children play on the threshing floors; the men water their fields; the muleteers can see and go to their work; and the shepherds enjoy the slopes together with their sheep while playing the flute. But the moon can also harm. The biggest harm is done to the thieves because it throws its light and does not allow them to rob for they can be seen. "The thief enjoys darkness and the wolf the upheaval" [distracting disturbance]. When the moon comes out for the first time we say: "Welcome to the new moon. We are happy to see you. Bring us good." Many seek to find money. They get hold of it and say: "As the moon gets full may my purse get full of coins." When the moon disappears those who are in the mountain and see it set say: "May you fare well and return better and achieve better things." "My moon, my shining moon, and beautifully adorned, did you by any chance see Andrew and his ship?" . . .

[539] *The milky way* (the priest's straw). Do you see those stars that divide the sky into two? We call them the priest's straw. Once upon a time a priest went to stay for a couple of days in a monastery. When he left, because he couldn't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
[Winter] Peloponnesos

221 lard; we have bought our oil, our kerosene, salt; we have made *trachanas*
252 [wheat coarsely cut, cooked in milk, dried, and then recooked into a soup or porridge]; our wood is gathered for the fireplace and the oven. In winter
●512 we get up before the light. The nights are long and we get our full sleep.
221 We go to bed as soon as it darkens. The older people go to bed with the
[354] chickens. For that reason we get up when it is still dark with the third
[513] crowing of the rooster, who wakes us all up. The fireplace is going night and day. In one corner sleep grandpa and grandma. In another corner the wife and husband. All around sleep the children. It is the house of the poor. The first to waken up is grandma, who puts the water on the fire for the trachanas; she next wakes grandpa and the housewife, and when the trachanas is ready we all get up. The trachanas is poured by the mother into the
264 deep soup plates and we all eat it hot around the fire. With the trachanas
[273] we eat olives, cheese, and we also drink some wine. Wine is never missing. When the children are many, the mother makes breadcrumbs, throws them into the saucepan, gives a spoon to each child and they all eat the trachanas. When the trachanas is nearly finished then it is a madhouse. The children each try to eat the biggest crumb; the crust of the trachanas is around the edges of the pan and at the bottom. Great laughter is heard when the crust is snatched away from one spoon to another.

512 The children who go to school go out to the fountain, wash a bit their
221 faces, and when they hear the bell, pick up their booksacks and go to
[515] school. Whoever's turn it is to light the stove in the school has to go before
[872] the others; each child has to take a log. Thus the stove gets fed and all the children keep warm. Those who remain in the house do the housework. The women spin, look after the animals, even weave. The men turn a little
[224] around in circles, do some small jobs and go to the shops. Whoever has a gun takes his dog and goes rabbit hunting. The children who are too small to go to school roll themselves on the floor, sit by the fire which they feed.
[861] What jobs could they do anyhow? Only damage can they do and then they
[462] are spanked. The winter is for women's tasks. Then the women have time to weave, to darn, to spin. When it rains and snows it is a calamity. Mud! Nobody can get dried out; it's nice in winter when the sun appears. Then all of us like foxes try to catch a sunny spot. There we sit and talk of our own affairs. The children play with snowballs. When the sun sets we all snuggle near the fireplace whilst others go to the shops. If anybody has a task he first finishes it and then sits down.

221 In the shops we gather and play cards. We talk to each other, we tease
796 each other, we quarrel and we shout a bit. From the cigarette smoke one
[517] cannot see another; when the *dodekaïmera* [December 25 to January 6 holidays] start, the women stop weaving and the other tasks and start baking
[252] *christopsoma* [Christmas bread], ring cookies, St. Basil's cake, put the house in order, and whatever other tasks belong to the dodekaïmera. The

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Peloponnesos

[Winter]

children stop going to school and they get together to prepare for their caroling. When they have sung, then they divide what they have gathered as gifts. If it's a nice day, they play outside and go also to the flocks. The man follows his regular schedule from home to the coffeehouse. They also go to church. When the weather becomes clear, even if it's February, slowly the tasks start. One goes plowing, the other prunes, another carries fodder or wood; others plant trees. Those who need to plant vineyards start preparing the branches. The women continue weaving and darning; they still do not undertake outside jobs. They start these when the men need hands. To the shops the man will go only in the evening. There the teacher comes; they all sit together, while he reads the paper. Everybody listens but few understand. The teacher finishes with the paper, then the shopowner, not wishing to waste kerosene on a group ordering no drinks, bangs a piece of wood on a bench and turns down the light. If we haven't gone he puts it out completely. As we go out it's pitch dark. Some fall in the mud; others curse, and some go here and there. As winter comes to an end we have Carnival. Then we kill the pig, then we have our dances near the church, then we enjoy ourselves in the houses.

Spring. When spring comes other tasks start. Then women start to help outside too. They go to the gardens and plant potatoes, spring onions, beans, tomatoes and vegetable marrows, cucumbers, and so on. When some damage has been done during the winter to our hedges or homes then is the time for repairs. And when we want to build then is the time because the weather improves. The children go to school and can play their games; in spring the fireplace does not burn during daytime. We light a fire in the evening when we come back from our work and we can rest and get warmed up. The fireplace burns in the evenings up to Easter. From then onwards, summer starts. Up to Holy Tuesday we must have finished our work; on Holy Wednesday we do not work; on Holy Thursday we may do something; after that we prepare ourselves for Easter.

Then we slaughter our lambs, we hold the big dance near the church; then the girls show their beauty and their charms, and the men their manliness. During those days we also visit the chapels and, after the local mass, we start dancing. We dance and we are merry. After Easter we start our tasks in the fields and in vineyards, as we have mentioned previously. Then the women help too. And they do the same type of work as the men. If we have to leave somebody in the house it's all right. Otherwise, if the children return from school they get hold of a piece of bread and sit to eat it by themselves. You can imagine what happens. When the children are many, it's topsy-turvy; when the mother comes back in the evening she pulls her hair; she doesn't know where to start. She starts beating them and murmurs to herself. The men who like the coffeehouse go there as soon as they re-

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Peloponneses

221 ●512 [275] [241] turn; some to hear some news, others to buy a cigarette. Many have their evening meals before and go afterwards.

Summer. As soon as *Theristes* [June: the Harvester] begins we start preparing ourselves for harvesting. One looks for an extra workman, others prepare their sickles, we all mix ourselves into the harvest tasks. Nobody remains at home. The children come and help too in the carrying. During summertime school is closed. They have their examinations in the presence [876] of the entire village; they recite poems and give dramatic sketches. This is done on a Sunday after church inside the school.

[241] When we have good harvests we start threshing; then we winnow; then we sack the wheat and put it in our storerooms. The straw we carry into our storage huts. After these jobs are finished we go to the mountains to cut wood and we water the maize. During summer the big festival of St. 221 Elias takes place. All the village is in an upheaval. When we have returned 796 from the Church of St. Elias we all start dancing and are merry. Lots of 535 people come from other villages. The musicians play all day and night. During the summer evenings under the moonlight the women gather with the girls and the children on the threshing floors, in courtyards, and wherever there is an opening. And they "nightspin." There they sing songs, tell jokes, ask riddles, say tongue twisters. The small children and girls play all kinds of games and end with dancing.

Fall. As fall starts, the big festival of Panagia, the 8th of *Trygetes* [September: the Grape Gatherer] comes. The dance and merriment last until dawn. Music does not stop for one minute. After our festival follows that 221 of Mazeika [a nearby town]. There we buy what we need: livestock, wool, 241 clothes, equipment for the house, agricultural implements, and whatever else. But in order to buy we have to sell. For that reason we sell walnuts [438] and wheat. What else can we sell? We haven't got anything. The walnuts [432] we gathered before the festival. When the festival has come to an end we start our work again. Then we gather our beans, we pick our grapes, we [273] press them, we put our wines to ferment, harvest our maize and husk it and place it in wooden cases, and we get ready to sow our wheat. We prepare our agricultural equipment and our seed and we wait for rain. When it has rained we start sowing up to Christmas. In fall also we open our wines [273] and down there in our basement a great merriment goes on.

221 The life in our village is all work and a hard lot. If God wants us and 82 our animals to eat we do so; if it rains we will sow; if there is *Livas* [hot south wind] our crops are scorched; if God throws sickness on our vineyards we do not eat grapes; if the grasshopper comes we have a disaster; if we have little water during the summer our maize doesn't grow. God is regulating our lives, and if you dare 4o, don't believe in Him and don't

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

tives who approach him than he would to others. A Greek who has gone to the United States will send money first to his own parents for their use or for the use of his younger brothers and sisters; then, if he has enough, he may give some to his poorer relatives — who are usually not backward about making their needs known. In some villages the rich men who give generously to their relatives are said to do so in the hope that more people will light candles for them. Kinship and matters related to it are discussed a great deal by village folk, a testimony to its interest and importance in their lives. What varies most of all throughout the country is the extent to which Western and urban ideas have penetrated to the point that individuals think primarily of their own immediate family and only secondarily — and perhaps only a little — about the larger family connection of which they are a part. Nevertheless, throughout the country, among all types of villagers, the family is still the basic unit; the father is supposedly "the head of the house"; and children "know their place."

One of the most straightforward characterizations of Greek family life I heard came not from a social worker, a home economist, or a political leader who knew the villagers well; it came from a bright but uneducated peasant girl who was asked to tell about the family life in her village in the northern Peloponnesos:

> The immediate family consists of the father and mother, and the children and parents of the family heads. There are usually no other relatives living in the house.
>
> The duties of the man: his highest duty is to provide a dowry for his daughters; send sons to school; enlarge the house; add to the fields.
>
> The duties of the wife: to have children and look after them; to look after her husband (have him clean, feed him, be obedient to him); clean the house; do all the work and see that the boys are good workers; start weaving and embroidery for the daughters' dowry; work in the field; respect older people; see that religious ceremonies are observed in the home. The duties of the mother are severe, for the father is out all the time — during the day he works and in the evening he is in the coffeehouse.
>
> The duties of children: to be good at school; at home obedient (although they seldom are); respect older people; work during part of leisure time, not because their work is needed but because they should get used to working.
>
> The duties of old people: to look after the little children, take them away to give the wife some quiet; tell stories to the children; and otherwise do what they like. When sons and daughters marry, the old people expect the young folks to take over and let them rest.

This thumbnail sketch of Greek family life provides a general outline into which hundreds of colorful details can be fitted. Many of these revolve about the role of the woman in the home and her relationship with her husband and children.

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

262 in-law's appetite. Our people don't spend much money on food, preferring to [432] grow their own. If a person buys food at the market the others will become envious of him because he has money "to spend on food."

264 Meal times are as follows when we are doing field work: breakfast, 6 to 7 A.M. at which time we eat bread, cheese, olives, and sometimes eggs; at 10 A.M. there is a break for a snack; lunch is at 1 P.M. and supper about 8:30 P.M.

272 We drink tea every day, this being what we call "mountain tea" [*tsai tou vounou*], made from a wild flower which we gather.

262 Most of the oils and fats the Greeks use, come from olives rather than [146] from animal products. Indeed, of the proteins eaten by Greeks, including the city as well as the rural Greek, only 19 percent is animal protein in comparison with 66 percent in the United States. As one study observed:

[235] The majority of families in the villages have from 4 to 8 hens, each of which [855] lays about 60 eggs per year. Eggs are used for feeding children up to the age of 4. Adults get few eggs except at Easter and on feast days. . . . A majority of the people have very little cheese. This is particularly serious since consumption of meat is so low.[6]

262 In traveling over Greece, a foreign observer is struck by a number of 264 interesting and useful practices connected with food. The widespread use of one-dish meals, most of them vegetable stews, economizes fuel and cooking equipment and frees the women for other household and farm tasks. Bread can be dipped into the stew sauce, serving a purpose quite apart from its food value. Many families cook only one hot meal a day, starting off with a cold breakfast except in the winter when they have a warm por-
251 ridge. Even though the climate during much of the year is warm, there is no home refrigeration, very little canning of vegetables or fruits, but considerable drying, brining, and pickling in order to conserve food for use when it is out of season. Eggs, however, can be stored for several months in water glass.

262 Various holidays have their traditional dishes, providing a festive occa- [574] sion at which the Greek villager really gets enough to eat; at other times, he [146] leaves the table hungry. A daily average of about 2500 calories per person for the whole country is no fattening diet, although more healthful than one in which individuals consistently overeat.

262 Regional variations in food habits throughout Greece depend upon the 184 local products available. Where the olive is not grown, but is obtained only through purchase or barter, the peasant usually has milk products such as [146] cheese or yoghurt. Where citrus fruit is lacking, more red peppers in the bean stews provide vitamins. Within a community there are also differences in diet based on differences in income.

252 Villages differ also in the day customarily set aside for baking bread in the 572 outdoor ovens. In a village such as Malakassa in Attica the women bake on
184

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Saturday; in other villages it may be on Thursday evening or Friday. Now and then one may come upon a group of women making use of a neighborhood oven where combined efforts mean greater economy of fuel. More and more, village bakers are relieving housewives of the baking chores, although the women must prepare the loaves and other food for the oven. Throughout rural Greece the bread is usually dark, since only about 2.5 percent of the bran is extracted.

It is hard to think of Greek food, however, without thinking of the resinated wine that is served to guests with the meal. Foreign travelers never fail to react quite strongly to the taste and properties of this unusual drink. Z. D. Ferriman in his *Home Life in Hellas* (1910) describes it as

> a beverage whose odour has been compared to various things — furniture polish and melted sealing-wax among others. A high dignitary of the Church from Constantinople said of it many centuries ago, that it resembled the juice of the pine tree rather than that of the grape, an observation that is strictly true. To the novice it is extremely nauseous, and some people never acquire the taste. To the Greek it is nectar. He lauds its flavour of turpentine on account of its alleged peptic qualities.[1]

On holidays and special occasions the men, as already noted, may drink ouzo.

In addition to her preoccupation with food, although it is served simply and in limited variety, the housewife also has to spend much time preparing clothes for her family. This holds true even though the villagers throughout Greece no longer wear the highly embroidered costumes of two or three generations ago and have adopted the Western style of dress. Some villages, such as Megara near Athens, with an eye on the tourist dollar, are exceptions to this rule, for their streets become resplendent on Sundays and holidays as some of the residents stroll in traditional dress. There are, however, little touches of costume which vary from one region to another. The nomadic peoples, described earlier, can always be identified by their black garb; the Turkish men of Thrace by their baggy trousers and fezzes and their women by veils and ballooning Turkish trousers.

But the Greek peasant styles are becoming more uniform. In the northern Peloponnesos the women wear as a standard work garment a skirt and a blouse, along with heelless pigskin moccasins, pointed at the toe. In many other parts of Greece a chemise, with or without sleeves, is common. These garments and their underwear are woven and sewn at home; the "woolies" which are worn in cold weather are knitted by the women. On Sunday the women wear a "best" dress, which they may have bought in town or at least modeled on a dress someone else obtained there. Underneath is the customary slip. Regular Western shoes with heels are a part of the dress-up outfit. When the women are working outside they wear headscarfs, with the

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

and were therefore limited to the wool, which was available and which the women could work, even for underwear and sheets. Cotton, much more difficult to spin and weave, became known in the eighteenth century to the plains villages visited by outside traders, but it was considered a luxury.

In Macedonia the women use the looms chiefly for making heavy blankets and for the dowry items, but not for clothing. According to the home economists there, the families now buy underclothes, stockings, shoes, extra sheets, pillow cases, and towels. A woman will still knit undershirts for the men and pullovers for children out of the woolen thread she has spun for herself. She will buy material and make garments for children who go to school. At about sixteen years of age a girl will buy material and take it to the village seamstress to be sewn up into special garments for her dowry. But new garments are not the only problem. The woman is kept busy darning everybody's clothing, and few are the work clothes without two or more patches.

In many villages Friday is washday, demanding heavy work for which machinery is not yet a substitute. For the woolen garments the women follow the centuries-old method of beating out the dirt with sticks or paddles around the fountain or along a running stream. Most women prefer to carry the clothes to the water, often at some distance from the house. Warm water may or may not be used, depending upon the fuel supply. Women are especially interested in improvements in the water supply, and the forms these take seem to follow a set sequence. First, the women start going to a spring or a stream for the water, carrying one large jar on their heads and another in their hands or else loading casks full of water onto a donkey. Then someone, either the municipality or a prosperous Greek-American from that village, arranges to have the water piped from the spring or stream to a central fountain. To this spot, much nearer than the former one, all of the women come once or twice a day as occasion demands.[11] The third stage is that of piping the water by the municipality to different sections of the village so that there are neighborhood spigots instead of a central fountain. The fourth stage, that of piping water to individual homes, is not yet even talked about in most villages, although here and there one finds a native son returned from abroad who has enough capital to drill a well or otherwise arrange for his own private water supply. This is the exception rather than the common expectation. The villages of Greece, like those of other countries, demonstrate the close relationship between the extent of woman's toil and the presence of a convenient source of water.

Farm Tasks

The yard of a Greek village home is never a spic and span showplace; it looks lived in twenty-four hours a day. The geraniums in flower pots on the window sill and the basil growing next to it give a touch of color. Before

1:Sanders Z-5H (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

ning or the very late hours are the times when the people pay most attention to the radio. During the busy evening hours it is very difficult to listen to or enjoy the radio because of the noise the participants make.

The different outsiders who stop by the coffeehouse, particularly the most central and attractive one, bring news and diversion. The bus driver, a government official en route to some other village, a commission merchant after agricultural products or livestock, a stray American tourist, are links with the larger society. Frequently, some offhand remark by one such stranger, because it has the ring of authority, influences the opinions of those present and thereby the opinions of others in the village who receive the information secondhand. Not to be overlooked, of course, is the eye-witness report some fellow villager brings back from the city or a provincial town where he has gone to arrange a business or legal matter. More often than not he can hardly wait to get to the coffeehouse so that he can hold the spotlight as long as he can stretch out the account of what he saw.

These attractions do not begin to exhaust all the possibilities. Anyone with business to transact arranges to meet the other party or parties at a coffeehouse. One may also go to the same place for a haircut. In Kimine, all three of the coffeehouses have what passes for a barber shop in one corner. Since there is no partitioning, the barber chair, mirror, and all tonsorial activities are in full view of the coffeehouse patrons. The barber is particularly in his glory on Saturday and Sunday nights, when the coffeehouses are at their busiest. Likewise, in Anthili, in Central Greece, the three barbers there ply their trade in the coffeehouses, and so it is throughout most of rural Greece. Now and then one even comes across a singing barber who entertains when business is slack. Most coffeehouse proprietors consider him a prize asset.

The Coffeehouse Clientele

But knowing what attracts the villagers to the coffeehouse does not tell us who is attracted and to what coffeehouses. Nor does it give us sufficient insight into the way community decisions are reached in the coffeehouse setting. For such information we need to take a closer look at the findings for Stavroupolis:

> Ninety percent of the adult males of the village visit at least one of the seven coffeehouses from time to time. Almost all of these go at least 1–2 days a month throughout the year, with about four fifths going an average of at least 1–2 days a week.
>
> More people go during the summer, but those who go during the winter go more often. Most people vary their frequency from winter to summer and those who change least are obviously those who go every day.
>
> Most people spend at least an hour whenever they go to the coffeehouse, but

1:Sanders Z-5,N (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

275
571
[512] they spend more than twice as much time during the non-busy period than during the busy period.

Apparently Stavroupolis also follows the pattern generally encountered throughout Greece in which the peasants spend much more time during the day in the coffeehouse in the winter months but more time during the evening hours in the summer. This of course follows the cycle of farm work.

When asked to give the reasons why they go to the coffeehouse, those with high yearly participation in Stavroupolis coffeehouses replied as follows: have nothing else to do (76 percent); to play a game (74 percent); to have a drink (64 percent); to see friends (63 percent); to hear what is new (56 percent); to talk with someone (51 percent); to go to a place where men go (25 percent). On the other hand, when all the men — not just the "high participants" — were asked to check which three of the seven reasons above were most likely to apply in their case, and the checks for each reason were computed as a percentage of all checks, the following distribution was obtained: to hear what is new (32 percent); to meet friends (26 percent); to have a drink (14 percent); to talk with someone (13 percent); to play a game (8 percent); nothing else to do (4 percent); it is the place where men go (3 percent).

These differences in response deserve a word of explanation. Apparently the high participators have gotten to the point where going to the coffeehouse is an end in itself, a habit which requires no justification other than to say that there is nothing else to do. Most men, however, try to give a more logical explanation, since they are aware that there are supposedly serious alternatives to going to the coffeehouse and that there are other things they might be doing. So more than half of all the reasons checked included the two most socially acceptable: to hear what is new and to meet friends.

But what are characteristics of those who are the "high participants"? In Stavroupolis, at least, the following facts hold true:

The higher a man's education, and particularly the higher his wife's education, the less time he spends at the coffeehouse.

Older people participate more than younger people.

People of higher economic efficiency participate more than those of low economic efficiency.

Nonfarmers participate more than part-time farmers, and part-time farmers more than farmers.

The most frequent participants are also apt to be leaders in the village organizations.

Furthermore, more high participants look unfavorably upon farming and living in the village than do low participants.

The native-born participate much less than do the settlers from eastern Thrace

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

houses directly on the village street are fairly close to it, so that the protrusion of one wall obscures the view from the roadside entrance of the next house. Four of the substantial village households along the main street have high enclosing walls on the street side.

Either by inadvertence or by design, such an orientation of buildings has certain consequences. It successfully limits the ability of the members of any village household to see directly just what is happening in more than two or three neighboring households. Except for such immediate neighbors, people may have to make a deliberate effort to find out what is going on in other sections of the village. And the signs may not be easy to interpret. The smoke rising from an oven down the hill indicates that the oven is in use. But it may be the owner who is using it, or some other woman who may have borrowed it to bake her bread. Or perhaps she is baking a *pita* (a kind of pie). Who knows? Besides, much of the movement of people to and from their homes has to do with what, from the villagers' point of view, are family affairs. Trips connected with the possible sale of tobacco, with the purchase of finery for a festival, with the preliminaries involved in arranging marriages, or with the supervision of any property owned elsewhere, are considered private family business. One therefore does not make a public show of setting out to attend to such affairs. People will make all preparations inside the house and leave just in time to catch a bus. If most people are indoors or in the fields that day, a departure may not be noted until the evening discussions in the coffeehouse. Or perhaps not even then, since few men follow a regular pattern of coffeehouse attendance.

The point here is not that the people of Vasilika cannot and do not learn about the activities of the other villagers, but that the acquisition of such information comes with some conscious effort and often with some difficulty. Once obtained it is highly prized. One gets the impression that about some matters, at least, everyone is playing a perpetual game of hide and seek. Each family does its best to keep certain aspects of its own affairs from leaking out and every other family does its best to uncover the secrets. Each group succeeds somewhat in its purpose and the taste even of limited accomplishment serves to keep the game going. The placement and character of the buildings in Vasilika contribute to the intriguing quality of the process.

Movement in and through the Village

To return to the general question of the pattern of traffic and movement in Vasilika: The public focus of the village is at the western end of the settlement, and remains on the level plain. Many visitors to the village, therefore, never travel further, either out east or up the hill, than the *agbora*. But some trucks, tractors, horses, mules, donkeys, wagons, and even occasional taxies are driven through the entire settlement on their way to and from the fields near the river. The villagers themselves contribute much of this kind of traffic in the spring, summer, and early fall when they go daily to the fields and transport

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)1963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

equipment and produce on their animals or, as two families do, on tractors. They are joined by farmers from neighboring villages whose fields lie adjacent to Vasilika and who travel through the village to reach them. Trucks come to pick up cotton, tobacco, wheat for the mill, and the like and, therefore, are seen more frequently whenever the various crops are being harvested. In any case, whenever there is movement along the entire length of the settlement, it occurs most densely in the early morning just after dawn and in the early evening just before sundown. As the labor of the day starts, in addition to the other traffic, someone from each of the households in which sheep and goats are owned leads the animals up the hill to the shepherds who will watch over them during the day. In the evening, the sheep are brought back again, but the goats often find their way home without any help. A first encounter with a lone goat coming around the corner of a village house, as it suddenly appears in the violet light of early dusk, is a startling experience. The soft light at the beginning and the end of these days is associated with the delicate tinkle of the sheep and goat bells as the animals move around the village. The entire ebb and flow of movement diminishes to an irregular trickle during the Mediterranean winter months from November to January when people stay in the village proper for most of the day.

Vasilika's shepherds and their families also participate in the main patterns of movement, except that the shepherds continue to go out daily through the winter and may leave the village entirely for the summer months.

But traffic in Vasilika is rarely a mass movement. Rather, there is always a range of time within which the villagers consider it feasible to carry out any activity. Each family moves at its own pace within the range. Even during the busy agricultural seasons, watching from the vantage point of a terrace facing a part of the main street at the east side of the *aghora*, one sees, first, a man going by in the direction of the river, leading a horse which carries a cultivator in its saddle; for ten minutes no one goes by, then a young man passes in the same direction; for five minutes nothing, then a woman and her grown daughter go past in the other direction carrying hoes for work in the cotton fields. A few minutes later, two young brothers go by, one leading and the other riding a horse sidesaddle; and so it goes until there is a longer period with virtually no movement at all. What is more, each day, even in the same season, the people involved in the movement will vary. The man who was first to go out one morning may leave a half-hour later the next; a girl who did the washing at home one day, and so did not appear at all, will be seen going out to the fields on the following morning. Such variation in activities both as regards the time when each of the village families starts on any project, and also with respect to the timing of activities from day to day by the members of any one household, appears again in the seasonal shifts of activities. The first major agricultural task in early spring is the pruning of the grape vines. For a period of several weeks almost every man who passes by is carrying a pruning hook. But here too, families start and end their pruning on different days. Only the comments on the situation are uniform. Each man complains of his blistered hands and aching

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959)/93 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

248 crease in food costs, in work, and in the inconvenience of having strangers in
465 one's house, were considered, in Vasilika, well worth the increase in daily wage
178 from about forty drachmas in the 1950's to the 1961 wage of approximately sixty.

248 Even with the release from housing hired labor, the period of cotton
292 cultivation is the most difficult of the year for the people of Vasilika. The weather is hot and often humid as well. Much of the hoeing must be done di-
[461] rectly under the hot sun with the hoer bending from the waist to manipulate the
[412] short-handled hoes. To protect themselves from the sun and from being scratched by the plants, both the men and women keep their arms and legs covered and shade their faces. The women wear long lisle stockings, their oldest long-sleeved flannel or cotton dresses with high necks, and kerchiefs which they draw around
[152] to cover the lower half of their faces. Men and women alike are embarrassed when outsiders see them in their old, worn, earth-spattered field clothes. "See us!" they say as one walks by the fields during this season of the year, "in our rags. What can we do?"

248 In spite of the weariness and inevitable backaches cotton hoeing brings
356 in its wake, the women must still continue with the ordinary housekeeping
462 chores. Once every week or so, they get up at two or three o'clock in the morning to sift the flour and knead the dough for bread; an occasional day free
● 512 from hoeing gives them time to do the accumulated family washing and ironing;
[221] and each day brings its own complement of bed-making, sweeping, cooking, and dish washing. Although the men have more frequent respites from hard physical work in May and June, both men and women obviously lose all the weight they gained during the less active winter months.

248 Irrigation, which begins in July, is a man's job. The cotton fields are
464 irrigated twice or three times in the course of the summer, and a farmer and
221 his son can ordinarily manage all the work. If not, the women of the household often help, or the farmer can hire men. But finding male farm labor is more
[462] difficult than finding women. Young men, when they reach twenty-one, serve for
[702] two years in the Armed Forces, and if a young man is not regularly needed on his father's farm, or has been educated, he is likely to have left the village for a town. Nevertheless, sons of poorer families, whether they attend gymnasium during the winter or not, are available for summer farm labor from the time they are thirteen or fourteen years old.

248 The task of irrigation consists of clearing shallow ditches into which the
312 water will be channelled, and then channelling the pumped water into them. Men work barefoot and sometimes stand in water up to their knees. Occasionally
[373] they work through the night with torches for light, and one gets the impression that the men and boys enjoy such nights for the sense of adventure they give. The need to walk around in the mud and the inevitable spattering of the mud over their clothes and their faces are what the men find disagreeable about irrigation, and once again, they complain of their unsightly appearance.

248 In October and November, if the weather has been normal, the cotton is
221 picked. This requires a prolonged period of work by many hands, since the
464 plants mature at different times: some cotton is ready for picking each day for a

2:Friedl E-5 (1955-1959):963 EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

impression of a single unit instead of looking like a haphazard collection of garments. Kitchen utensils as well as farm equipment are kept in the storehouses or in the part of the lower floor used for storage. Thus village rooms, even the all-purpose ones, have a bare look. Since even kerosene burners are usually kept in storage places when they are not in use, the visible equipment in village rooms is not an accurate index of the family's utilitarian property. The use of the storage spaces, always hidden behind at least a curtain if not a door, has some of the quality of the well-known circus act in which a small army of midgets emerges from a tiny automobile. Carafes of wine, chunks of cheese, eggs, coffee, olives, rice, and coffee grinders, kerosene burners, flour, troughs for carrying bread, pots and pans, as well as farm produce and equipment such as cotton, tobacco, pruning shears, long needles for tobacco stringing, chemical fertilizer, and the like, appear when they are required as one or another member of the household disappears into the storage space and, after a short time, comes out with the necessary article. Only bread and recently purchased items are commonly visible in the village rooms. The loaves are placed on a high shelf and the women sometimes cover them with a cloth.

Orderliness in the village homes, then, is the result of a preference for keeping living space fairly free of equipment needed for household and farm chores, and, indeed, keeping this equipment hidden from view. The women spend considerable time and energy taking things out and putting them away, particularly because they make no special effort to provide a regular place for each item.

What the villagers do object to is, as we have seen, the dirt, the dust, and the mud that accompany so much farm work and that they try to keep away from themselves and from their good clothes and out of their houses. Cleanliness consists in keeping mantel-covers snowy white, in washing and pounding rugs once a year, in scrubbing wooden floors and staining them with a yellow dye before a feast day, in seeing to it that steps, terrace, outhouses, and, occasionally, the entire house are whitewashed before Easter, in having washed and ironed table cloths and napkins for guests, in wiping glassware just before glasses are used so that they will shine, and in wiping grease off the edge of a plate. Cleanliness does not consist in a concern for scientific sanitation; soiled aprons, for example, may be used as dishcloths. Once a cloth has dusted or polished or dried any article, and so removed all surface evidence of soil, the article is clean in terms of the villagers' concept of cleanliness. Such cleanliness, however, is regarded as essential for good housekeeping.

The women of Vasilika have no sense of urgency about accomplishing household tasks for the tasks' own sake. Although they ordinarily wash dishes from the previous night's meal, make beds, and sweep in the early morning, other tasks, including bread-baking, are put off until conditions are favorable and they choose to do the jobs. The chores do not rule the women; the women have control of the chores. The order in which they are done, and the particular time a woman decides to work at them, is up to her. It is the end result that matters.

2: Friedl E-5 (1955-1959) EH1 Greece EH1
Vasilika

dripping baby after his total immersion. Guests call out remarks about the way the baby is being dressed; its bonnet strings, for example, are said to be too tight or too long, and so on.

Such comment and advice on recurrent, apparently routine activities serves simultaneously to express and to reinforce a particular point of view—the point of view that each event, no matter how often similar ones have occurred before, is essentially fresh and unique (Miller 1950:16). In a sense, the villagers impose variation and uncertainty on events which have no intrinsically adventurous elements. What, from the villager's standpoint, is the monotonous regularity of ordinary tasks is relieved by verbal exploration of the range of small variations possible. Even when people are alone they apparently prefer to change the time, or the place, or the order in which they perform recurring activities. For example, a woman who sifts flour and kneads dough for bread varies the time of day at which she starts the process, the part of the household in which she does these jobs (sometimes in the ground-floor room, sometimes in the storehouse, and in different corners of these rooms), and the extent to which she completes the sifting at one sitting. Some of these variations are dictated by external conditions such as weather or the time available from work in the fields; but others appear to be efforts simply to alleviate the felt boredom of routine activities. The feeling of security which many Americans derive from the regular performance of routine tasks seems unknown in Vasilika.

The stream of comment and advice associated with ordinary activities is very similar to the stream of orders and requests directed at children by their elders. Children learn that they are often not chastised for failing to respond immediately to a command such as "*Katse kala*," "Sit nicely," or "Be good." Moreover, they learn that specific commands to run errands or to stop playing in the mud will be repeated several times before a parent gets exasperated, and there will be other times at which the parent or older brother or sister is distracted by something else and will forget the command entirely. The tone of voice of the older person informs the child when an order is meant seriously, but, in the meantime, he responds to or ignores many orders about which his elders have a less firm conviction, and his reaction depends upon his mood of the moment. The elders' words may even include threats that the child will "eat wood," that is, "be beaten" if he does not behave, and a parent may go so far as to threaten to kill a child who misbehaves. But even these threats do not elicit immediate response. (In fact, children are very rarely beaten. Physical coercion consists of an occasional slap on the back of the head, and children may be shoved, or pulled by the ear in one direction or another). It seems, then, that disobedience is not in and of itself considered a sign of disrespect to parents. In the villager's view, a child should listen to what his parents tell him because they are more intelligent, have better judgment, and have the child's welfare at heart. Very young children, the villagers believe, do not have sense enough to know this and so can scarcely be expected to respond without a bit of a push, and older children may be stubborn. Even *pisma* (stubbornness) is grudgingly admired in a child if he exercises it with moderation.

5:Hammond M-5 (1948-1950)1956
EH1 Greece EH1

795 territory. Kato Nevrokopi, where the Greek Metropolitan has his
648 throne, is a large village, or *comopolis* (it had a pre-war population of
[162] about 2,000 souls), about twelve kilometres from the frontier.[1] The
722 whole of this region was evacuated by the civilian population in
166 March, 1941, when invasion seemed imminent, most of the refugees taking shelter in Drama, some forty-five kilometres to the southward. When the Germans abandoned eastern Macedonia to the Bulgars, all who were able to do so fled to Salonica, Verroia and other towns beyond the river Strymon. It was only after the withdrawal of the Bulgars in the autumn of 1944 that the Greek population began to trickle back.
727 In 1949 no less than twelve of the thirty villages of the diocese were
[936] in ruins and uninhabited, and the number of the orphans was said to
[346] approach 900. Kato Nevrokopi itself, though it still bore traces of the great battle which had raged about the forts of the Metaxas line and their heroic defenders, had come through the years of occupation and the more recent troubles almost unscathed, save for the deliberate destruction of the metropolis and the school.

796 It had been arranged that the Metropolitan should celebrate the
[793] liturgy next morning at the village of Dasoto, four or five miles away, which would be keeping its patronal festival. The day was ushered in by bugle-calls and a great beating of drums, revealing shortly after five o'clock that the newly-formed scout troop was already abroad. These
[233] martial noises were soon mingled with the soft ringing of a multitude
[512] of bells, as the cattle were driven out through the narrow paths between the cottages to the dusty river bed where they assemble each morning
[493] before moving off to the pastures. By a little before seven it had become evident that others besides ourselves were keeping the feast at Dasoto, as a few carts drawn by oxen or buffaloes, together with some solitary riders, rattled across the bridge and headed westwards. We followed
[487] in a jeep. Our path lay through fields of maize and tall sunflowers, above which occasional glimpses of a blue and white flag of vast dimensions indicated the scouts' line of march, along tracks which a heavy shower would render impassable to anything on wheels. Dasoto
[361] came into view after a quarter of an hour; a cluster of lime-washed
[342] cottages, the church prominent amongst them, on the lower slopes of the heavily wooded heights that surround the plateau.
[793] The parish priest and some thirty or forty men and boys had come as far as the outskirts of the village to welcome us. The Bishop's vestments,

[1] [i.e. Bulgarian frontier - ANALYST]

6: McNeill H-5 (1947, 1956) 1957
EH1 Greece EH1

[Town Life]

cluster together, so that one may find whole rows of silversmiths' shops in Jannina, or streets of cobblers in Kozani. The market square, where peasants from the surrounding villages bring their products for sale once or twice a week, constitutes a vital part of every town; street peddlers with their donkeys or pushcarts are everywhere. So are policemen, shoeshine boys and waiters, who will bring little cups of Turkish coffee into any office or house when summoned from the ubiquitous *cafeneions*. Great trucks and buses, often sadly dilapidated, are a prominent part of the urban scene, and, except in Athens, they outnumber passenger cars.

The daily rhythm of life in a Greek town is quite different from that familiar in the United States. People rise early, almost with the sun, and the streets in the early morning present a lively scene, as the women buy food and other household supplies and men start their daily work. As the sun mounts the sky, the streets become more deserted, until in early afternoon only a few idlers can be seen hugging the shade in the coffee shops or along the curbs. Shops close and everyone goes home to eat and sleep. By late afternoon animation returns, though it is less intense than in the morning, since many offices (including government offices) function only until early afternoon. Then with the cool of the day, about 7:30 or 8 o'clock, the streets come fully to life. Everyone who can walk comes out for a breath of air. Dense crowds move slowly through the center of town, talking and window shopping. In the main square, the young people form small groups and walk round and round, the boys in one direction and the girls in the other, thus assuring each a maximum opportunity to observe, ogle or snub the opposite sex. This is how courtship begins, and the process lends a certain vivacity to the evening. Then, by 9:30 or so, everyone goes home, lights go out and the town goes to sleep until the morrow's sunrise.

They worked at their own shoeshine booths, or their own fruit-stands or restaurants; they took on unfamiliar occupations such as cooking, rather than submit to an employer.

TIME

Greeks "pass" the time; they do not save or accumulate or use it. And they are intent on passing the time, not on budgeting it. Although city people say that this picture is changing, that they are now made aware of the need to use time, the attitude is still widely prevalent, even in the area of private life among the urban groups.

The clock is not master of the Greek: it does not tell him to get up, to go to the field. In most villages, in spite of recent changes, the peasants still get up at sunrise or dawn to go to the fields, and return at sundown. The day is made for work. At night women visit and gossip; men join them or go to the coffee house; there is story-telling, and ardent political discussion; and as for any work done after dark, "the day takes a look at it and laughs". Wherever there is no law to the contrary, a man opens his store in due course, not by the clock; however, in the cities he now functions under clocked time because he comes under government and union regulations. Even in the United States, though conservative Greek business men have adapted their business life to the time of the clock, in their private life and at social gatherings they function irrespective of the clock.

It is distasteful to Greeks to organize their activities according to external limits; they are therefore either early or late, if a time is set at all. At church the people are not impatient while waiting for Mass to begin; and the church fills only gradually. They know when to go to church; yet when a foreign visitor inquires as to the time of a certain Mass, the subject creates a discussion; and eventually the answer will be something like: "Between 2 and 3." And when Greeks who follow their traditional ways invite, they say, not: "Come at 7 o'clock," but: "Come and see us." To arrive to dinner on time is an insult, as if you came just for the food. You come to visit, and the dinner eventually appears. Among urbanized Greeks, this custom now seems burdensome, and there are many cartoons on the subject.

The dinner is not planned to appear at a predetermined time; and the housewife does not cook by the clock. She tells by the smell or the consistency, or the colour, or the resistance against the stirring spoon; or the passing of time is gauged by the intervening activities. Conservative Greek women in the United States, even after a residence of many years, banish from the kitchen the interfering clocks which are introduced by their American grandchildren. Greek men and women work expeditiously, as a rule, but do this best at their own rhythm; any need to hurry is external and interfering; it introduces

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Greece EH1

To the Land of the Eagle

000 evening after one of the most delightful walks that could ever fall to one's lot.

177 Ginger-beer is a survival from the time of the British administration which ended more than sixty years ago. The Victorian habit of closing all windows at night—night air being considered poisonous—is another. At sunset all the windows at the Pension Suisse were religiously closed and shuttered, including those of my bedroom which, as the weather was quite warm, I promptly opened again, and kept open. A more satisfactory legacy from the British occupation is the game of cricket, which is popular to this day.

132 There are only two months in the year in which the weather is really hot, and only two of so-called winter. Bathing is possible from April to November. At the beginning of May I found the water quite warm, although the Corfiotes think it madness to venture in before July.

512 In the summer the inhabitants close their shops and places of business during the middle of the day. But at five in the afternoon the town wakes up again and the whole population turns out into the cafés, the squares, the streets, and the esplanade. Here the folk stroll about, or sit at tables under the trees drinking coffee or Greek brandy, until ten or eleven o'clock at night when they go home to supper.

[533] They are fond of dancing. In the dance season they dance for many nights in succession, and no dance breaks up until

545 seven or eight in the morning. They have also a theatre to which a company from Athens or Rome occasionally comes. On these nights the play begins at what is